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ABSTRACT

International scholarly effort in the comparative study of adult education has increased substantially over the past 20 years. The relationship between the state and adult education is one area, however, that has remained relatively neglected by researchers. In many countries, adult education has been largely the responsibility of voluntary bodies, which has perhaps obscured its political dimension. At the present time, however, both adult educators and adult students have become increasingly aware of the impact of the state on adult education. In Great Britain, for example, reductions in government funding of adult education have given the study of the state and adult education a particular immediacy. The following areas are particularly in need of further study: the impact of adult education on the state over time; ways in which the state has affected adult education in Africa and Great Britain; and the question of political education and the effect of different government structures. Such studies should be based on a simple model in which state character (laissez-faire, colonial, or postcolonial), the nature of intervention (policies, supportive and constraining actions), and factors in effectiveness (political will, infrastructure) could be compared. (MN)

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THE STATE AND ADULT EDUCATION - SUGGESTED ISSUES FOR COMPARATIVE STUDY

Presidential Address to the British Comparative and International Education Society (BCIES), Annual Conference at Glasgow, September 12th, 1986,

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A first version of Parts 2-7 of this paper was given at the Oxford conference on the History of Adult Education organised by the Open University, July 14th-18th, 1986 and published as "The State and Adult Education" in Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education History Bulletin Halifax, Nova Scotia, May '87, pp 51-63

SUMMARY:

As President of BCIES, the author starts with some comments on the development of comparative studies in Adult Education. The address asks why the study of the State's relations with adult education is so neglected, suggests a model for considering them and focuses especially on the achievements and failures of adult education movements in making political change and the ways in which the State may affect adult education beneficially or adversely. Comparative material is taken from several African countries (mainly Commonwealth) and from Britain itself (England and Scotland). A model is offered as a tool for analysis of relations between State and adult education.

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THE STATE AND ADULT EDUCATION - SUGGESTED ISSUES FOR COMPARATIVE STUDY

Lalage Bown

1. Introduction: The Development of Comparative Studies in Adult Education

The age of 21 is still associated in many people's minds with "coming of age" or arrival at adulthood and it is a very pleasing coincidence that this 21st Conference of the BCIES is associated with a theme relating to learning opportunities for adults. It is particularly pleasing, since, although comparative studies in education have a very long history, that branch of the discipline concerned with adult education is still relatively underdeveloped.

The first international conference on the comparative study of adult education was held only as relatively recently as 1966 - at Exeter, New Hampshire, USA. A small group of scholars, mainly from North America and Europe, met "To review and refine a conceptual framework for examining adult education activities, programmes and institutions in various countries on a comparative basis and to examine and describe similarities and differences in such activities in line with this conceptual framework." (Liveright and Haygood, 1968). The conceptual framework, based on a cultural diffusion model, has since been drastically reworked, but the Exeter group's definition of the main subject-matter for comparative study has proved helpful through the years. The main elements which they listed were:

> Thought and ideas relevant to and about Adult Education;
> Institutions and structures, including legislation about and funding for Adult Education;
> Participants in adult education activities - learners and teachers/facilitators;
> Learning/teaching processes and methods;
> Achievements and problems in various programmes, institutions and policies;

Store was set by the development of "country case-studies", since it was accepted that there was an extreme dearth of reliable and coherent information.

Exeter had of course a pre-history. A voluntary organisation, the World Association for Adult Education was set up in 1918 largely on the impetus of British adult education activists, led by Albert Mansbridge, and as an incidental it produced some comparative information. It organised the first international conference on adult education in 1929, but foundered in the adverse economic climate of the 1930's. There were also a few scholars with an interest in adult education from a comparative standpoint. In Britain, the best known is Robert Peers, who held the Chair of Adult Education at the University of Nottingham from 1923 until 1953 (see Peers, 1958).

The Exeter conference, however, was both a catalyst to, and a symptom of, the development of a new field within the overall discipline of comparative education. Since Exeter, a number of events have nurtured work in comparative studies of adult education.

In the first place, there has been a growth in the activity of international bodies with an interest in adult education, either from a policy standpoint or a professional academic one and this has promoted interchanges of ideas which have fostered scholarly and cultural diffusion and attempts at model-making. Two intergovernmental organisations have played important parts - Unesco and the World Bank.

Unesco has sponsored a series of international conferences on adult education. The initial one, at Elsinore in 1949, was largely taken up with issues of interest only to Europeans, but each successive meeting has broadened its scope until the most recent one held in Paris in 1985, which proved to be the largest conference ever held by Unesco on any subject. Unesco has contributed to conceptualisation, through its staff members, such as Paul Lengrand, who wrote on the idea of lifelong learning (Lengrand, 1975) and more recently Ettore Gelpi who is interested in the relationship of adult education and work (Gelpi, 1976), and also through the seminal report Learning to Be (Faure, 1972), which collated ideas and policies from very many countries to develop a new model of lifelong learning. In 1976, the Unesco General Assembly agreed a recommendation on adult education which attempted a broad definition and during the 1970's and 80's the Organisation encouraged work on comparative terminology (in which Colin Titmus of the University of Glasgow was involved) and on documentation and the collection of statistics for comparative purposes.

There are still many conceptual issues to be thrashed out and the field is faced with a paucity of good statistical data as well as of good case-studies, but Unesco's activities have been

crucial in supporting the work of both scholars and policy-makers. Notably, it has supported the European Centre of Leisure and Education in Prague. The Centre has done methodological work and has produced 23 country case studies. Unesco has also provided overviews of, for instance, functional literacy for adults, in which its own programme in a dozen countries was subjected to rigorous comparative analysis; and it has produced a working definition of adult education in the 1976 recommendation. As a definition for the purposes of this paper, I will give it here:

> "The entire body of organized educational processes, whatever the content, level and method, whether formal or otherwise, whether they prolong or replace initial education in schools, colleges and universities as well as in apprenticeship, whereby persons regarded as adult by the society to which they belong develop their abilities, enrich their knowledge, improve their technical or professional qualifications and bring about changes in their attitudes or behaviour in the twofold perspective of full personal development and participation in balanced and independent social economic and cultural development" (Unesco 1976).

Simultaneously, over the past 20 years, the World Bank stimulated an interest in adult and non-formal education starting from a systems approach to education, questioning the efficacy and practicality in many countries of policies of schooling for all and studying cases in which less formal varieties of education were related to development. The watershed was the publication of Philip Coombs' World Educational Crisis (1968), which was followed by substantial comparative work relating non-formal education to development carried out by Coombs and his colleagues (e.g. Coombs and Ahmed 1974). World Bank thinking influenced the Commonwealth and successive Commonwealth Education Ministers' Conferences laid stress on the importance of non-formal education and on the acquisition of comparative information on good practice. A high point was the Commonwealth Conference on Non-formal Education held in New Delhi in 1979 and elegantly reported by Paul Fordham (1980).

In the 1980s, the World Bank has retreated from its post-Coombs position and there are signs that the Commonwealth may do so too, i.e. the interest in non-formal and adult education has waned and attention has turned back to primary schooling. This may be regrettable for many reasons, but here I simply wish to point out that the 1970's position favoured interest in study of adult and non-formal education internationally.

If intergovernmental agencies have forwarded comparative studies in adult education, some international non-governmental organisations have provided a dynamic. These include the International Council for Distance Education, founded as the International Council for Correspondence Education in 1939, the International Federation of Workers' Education Associations, founded in 1947, the International Congress of University Adult Education, founded in 1961 (whose journal, established in 1962, was the first explicitly comparativist adult education journal in English), the International Council of Adult Education, 1972 and the International Community Education Association, 1974. The ICAE, based in Toronto, was the brain-child of the late J.R. (Roby) Kidd; through its links with regional adult education associations, it developed comparative work within regions, e.g. within Asia and the South Pacific and has published since 1968 the most important journal of comparative adult education, Convergence. Although mainly in English, Convergence has always tried to use material (and provide translations) in French, Spanish and Russian.

International scholarly effort in the comparative study of adult education, has, against this background, stepped up over the past 20 years. Other serial publications have included Professor Joachim Knoll's International Yearbook of Adult Education and the periodical Adult Education and Development, produced by the DVV (German Adult Education Association). Several international academic symposia have been held, mostly thanks to Unesco. Two key conferences subsequent to Exeter were the meeting at Nordborg, Denmark in 1972, "regarded as an instrument to advance the emerging discipline of comparative studies of adult education" (Blakely 1972) and the international seminar on comparative adult education structures held in Nairobi in 1975. The Nordborg meeting was notable for an awakening awareness among comparative adult educationists of the importance of enlisting the methods of academic disciplines outside education narrowly viewed (e.g. the methods of economics, sociology and history) and the Nairobi seminar developed interest in questions of the relationship between adult education, seen as an instrument of development, and other cultural and social mechanisms in differing political and economic systems. There have been various smaller international meetings since. The most recent was held in Oxford this year (1986) under the sponsorship of the Open University, and focused on the history of adult education (a first version of this address was presented there; I am grateful for the discussion there, which has led me to develop the paper). In 1987, Oxford will be the venue of another international conference also organised by the Open University, which should be able to take stock of the present status and preoccupations of the general field of comparative adult education.

Since this is a British society, I should mention scholarship in Europe and in Britain particularly. In Europe, comparative studies have been forwarded by annual meetings hosted in Yugoslavia and Austria, by the study of comparative adult education in various universities, e.g. Aachen, Belgrade, Berlin, Bochum, Lieuwen, Warsaw, and by the work of the European Bureau of Adult Education. In Britain, SCUTREA (the Standing Conference of University Teaching and Research in Adult Education) has a working group on comparative studies, which publishes a newsletter; and since 1981 the University of Nottingham Department of Adult Education has organised conferences on international dimensions of policy and research. Several British universities, including Glasgow, teach comparative studies, and individual British scholars in the field have included Christopher Duke, John Lowe (whose book, Adult Education in England and Wales, 1970, is a model of a country case-study), J.E. Thomas and Colin Titmus.

This brief history has been given since many colleagues in the parent field of comparative education may be unaware of these developments. Comparative adult education has derived from comparative education (and I personally see both of them within the paradigm of lifelong education). It has been influenced by some of the same thinkers (Kandel, Hans, Bereday, King, Holmes) and has benefited from methods developed by comparative education. At the same time, it has begun to generate its own concepts, definitions and scholarly activity and to develop its own character and interests within the overall field. It has differed from the mainstream in having always included developing countries and issues of the relation of education to development in its agenda. A number of scholars from developing countries have pioneered the field, in particular Professor J.T. Okedara of the University of Ibadan, Nigeria.

2. THE STATE AND ADULT EDUCATION: A NEGLECTED THEME.

Many areas in comparative adult education have been little researched and I have chosen here to talk on one of a number of neglected themes.

Adult education in many countries has been largely the responsibility of voluntary bodies. This has perhaps obscured its political dimension and it is only recently that comparative studies have begun to emerge on the relation between the State and adult education. Internationally the Nairobi seminar of 1975 on structures pointed up the complexity of direct state involvement in developing countries. Historical studies on the theme have been carried out by Michael Omolewa of the University of Ibadan and Roger Fieldhouse of the University of Leeds, but much further exploration is needed.

In Britain at the present time, both adult educators and students of adult education have become increasingly aware of the impact of the State, owing to financial stringency, which has affected local authorities, universities and other educational institutions and voluntary associations. The apparent decentralisation of political control over adult education for much of this century has crumbled. Small (1982) quotes the 1980/81 report of Her Majesty's Inspectors, on the effects on the education service in England of local authority expenditure policies, which highlighted the decline of funding for adult education within local government education provision - a direct result of central government budgetary policies. At the same time, there is a growing awareness of the redirection of government funding towards the creation of new forms of adult education with far closer central control. The issues involved have been analysed by Wallis (1985) in his case-study of the Youth Opportunities Programme, prefaced by a historical perspective on the Manpower Services Commission, established in 1973 with a budget of £155 million, which increased in just 12 years to over £2 billion.

The study of the State and adult education thus has immediacy for us in Britain. It can, I believe, be illuminated by a comparison with an environment where direct State involvement in adult education has been taken for granted. For this reason, I wish to examine the question using a comparison between Britain and selected African countries. Curiously, my theme has been little studied in Africa either - perhaps because State initiatives have been taken for granted. This does not, however, mean that specific initiatives have not been subject to critical analysis. Omolewa has made, for instance, an appraisal of the Nigerian mass literacy campaigns

between 1940 and 1960; he has identified the shortage of funds, the lack of commitment to adult education by most colonial adminstrators and the regional variations in public opinion as reasons for the decline of the campaigns (Omolewa, 1980a). He has also suggested that there is now a need "to examine the extent to which adult education has been used to fight social injustice, apartheid, inequality of access to education, employment and civic rights", i.e. how far adult education has impinged on the established polity (Omolewa, 1985a).

In making the comparison, I shall make use of a historical approach and for working purposes shall take the State as the central political association within a national community, the repository of power in that community, the originator of law and the applier of the sanctions of that law. I shall not assume that the State is necessarily an oppressive mechanism, either oppressive of adult education or of other areas of human life.

I hope to raise three main questions:-

It has already been implied that the State has an impact over time on adult education, but a more interesting starting point would be the question of whether and how far adult education had had an impact over time on the State. There is a good deal of rhetoric about adult education and social change (and the Unesco definition of adult education includes a perhaps-pious aspiration about participation in development). Here, we shall take up the issue of achievements and failures of adult education movements and participants in making political change - i.e. in modifying, shifting or restructuring the State.

Secondly, we should ask in what ways the State has affected adult education in both Africa and Britain. This question divides into several themes: the policies which States have applied; the ways in which they have made use of adult education; the ways in which they have facilitated it; and the ways in which they have moulded or constrained it.

Thirdly, there are some related issues on which historians have started to work, such as the question of political education and the effect of different Government structures, and we will look briefly at these. Much of the material to be looked at has been produced by scholars with a primary interest in adult education, but obviously other insights must come from historians and political sociologists.

3. ADULT EDUCATION VERSUS THE STATE

Attempts at significant political change (changes in the constitution or structure of the State) have usually been accompanied by some form of adult education activity or movement. Kelly (1970) and Simon (1960) both mention a number of such movements which emerged in Britain in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. An important example would be the "corresponding societies", dedicated to political reform and operating through discussion, lectures, and the circulation of books. The best known is the London Corresponding Society, founded by Thomas Hardy, a shoemaker from Falkirk. It had several thousand members, each paying a penny a week and was organised into groups, each of which sent delegates to a central committee. Similar societies were founded in Nottingham, Manchester and Sheffield in England and in Scotland came early into being in Glasgow, Paisley, Kilmarnock, Dundee and Perth. Their main text was Tom Paine's The Rights of Man (1771, reproduced many times) and their programme seems very moderate today - the vote for all and annual parliaments. But they were up against a repressive State, embattled against the effects of the American and French Revolutions.

The reaction of the authorities was ferocious. In Scotland, 80 societies sent representatives to a convention in Edinburgh, in December 1792. One of the leading members was a young lawyer, Thomas Muir. He was arrested and charged with treason. In spite of an eloquent defence, he had little hope against a packed jury and the prejudices of a judge who told them:

> "I leave it to you to judge whether it was perfectly innocent or not in Mr. Muir, at such a time, to go about among ignorant country people and among the lower classes of people, making them leave off their work, and inducing them to believe that a reform was absolutely necessary to preserve their safety and their liberty, which, had it not been for him, they would never have suspected to have been in danger. A government in every country should be just like a corporation; and in this country it is made up of the landed interest, which alone has a right to be represented. As for the rabble, who have nothing but personal property, what hold has the nation on them? What security for the payment of their taxes?" (Meikle, 1912).

Muir was condemned and sentenced to transportation for 14 years. Other leaders of such societies were also transported

and although Hardy himself achieved a verdict of not guilty in London, the movement was throttled by a 1799 Act making corresponding societies illegal.

Did this outcome mean that there was no impact on the State? It is clear that in the short run there was none. On the other hand, it might be argued that the reform and working class movements showed some continuity from that time and that 19th century constitutional change came about as a result of that continuity of debate, meetings and circulation of reading matter.

In contrast, we may take the case of the liberation movement in Guinea-Bissau in the 20th century, which also involved adult education as an essential part of its activity, but which was considerably more successful than the 18th century British groups. Guinea-Bissau or Guiné is a small country, with a present-day population of just over half a million. For several centuries, it was dominated by the Portuguese. The Portuguese colonial State was extremely repressive and most of the population had no political rights. From the mid-1950's, little known by the outside world, a resistance movement began, which bit by bit took over the country from the Portuguese and ultimately, after the Algiers Accord of 1974, claimed back its country's independence and played its part not only in the transformation of the State of Guinea-Bissau, but also in the restructuring of the metropolitan Portuguese State, since the "catastrophe" of the Portuguese colonies led directly to the overthrow of the Portuguese dictatorship in Lisbon. A full study of how this was achieved has yet to be made, but there is useful evidence in reports by Basil Davidson and in the works of the Guinean leader, Amilcar Cabral (tragically assassinated in 1973 by the Portuguese).

Cabral was a technocrat, briefly an agricultural engineer in the Portuguese colonial service, who was given the job of preparing a national agricultural survey. This gave him a knowledge of the terrain and peoples throughout Guiné. In 1956, he, with 5 others, founded the African Party for the independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) and as he said: "We sought to awaken in each person's mind the sense of freedom. It was not easy." The means available to the British corresponding societies were not available to him, since the illiteracy rate was about 98%. At first, the group attempted to work in towns (as Hardy and the others had done in Britain), but this proved dangerous and evoked heavy reprisals. After a massacre of 50 dock-workers in 1959 by the colonial authorities, Cabral and his colleagues decided that the way forward would have to be through the mobilisation of peasants in what was essentially a mass education programme undertaken by PAIGC members; the first group of "mobilisers"

were trained by Cabral personally.

The peasantry were seen as a physical force against the Colonial State, but also as the future builders of the new independent State of Guinea-Bissau. Hence, Cabral's strategy was both military and educational. The educational strategy included the following prescriptions:

" - Make responsible workers of the Party and all dedicated militants constantly improve their cultural training.

- Set up courses to teach adults to read and write, whether they are combatants or elements of the population. On all sides, ensure respect for the watchword of our Party - 'all those who know should teach those who do not know'.

- Protect and develop manifestations of our people's culture, respect and ensure respect for the usages, customs and traditions of our land, so long as they are not against human dignity, against the respect we must have for every man, woman or child.

- Defend the rights of women, respect and ensure respect for women (in childhood, as young girls and adult women), but persuade women in our land that their liberation must be their own achievement ---

- Teach ourselves and teach others and the population in general to combat fear and ignorance, to stamp out little by little submissiveness before nature and natural forces which our system has not yet mastered.

- Demand from responsible workers of the Party that they devote themselves seriously to study, that they take an interest in aspects and questions of life and of the struggle in their essential basic character, and not merely superficially. Make every responsible worker constantly improve his knowledge, his culture, his political training. Convince everyone that no one can know without learning and the most ignorant person is the one who purports to know without having learned. Learn from life, learn with our people, learn in books and from the experience of others.

- Little by little set up simple libraries in the liberated areas, lend others the books we possess, help others to learn to read a book, the newspaper and to understand what is read." (Cabral, 1980; 242-4).

These guidelines indicate both an educational strategy and a curriculum. They were seen in combination with the establishment of basic social services, schools for the children and clinics, as well as the development of a self-sufficient economy.

Some scholars are now questioning how far Cabral's programme was implemented, but the eye-witness testimony of Basil Davidson has convinced me that it was quite widely carried out and there is no gainsaying that by the early 1970's PAIGC controlled two-thirds of the country. Davidson's accounts suggest that at least one reason was that they had "awakened in each person's mind the sense of freedom". A long-term adult education campaign over a period of some 18 years helped to achieve the take-over and restructuring of the State. 12 years further on, it would be interesting to trace what has happened since. Much of Cabral's vision has been eroded and it is difficult to find out what happened to Paolo Freire's post-independence contribution to an extended literacy campaign. Recent eye-witness reports are disparaging, but it is hard to imagine that there are no long-term effects from PAIGC's mobilisation work from 1956 onwards.

Evidence is available in Stephanie Urdang's first-hand study of womens' education. Clearly, in the post-independence period, the country continued the work for the self-liberation of women. She reports, for instance an English class described by a young PAIGC woman teacher.

> "What I do is take a sentence from the text and begin a discussion round that. --- For instance, one African story referred to the woman standing outside the door. 'Why did the woman stand outside the door, away from the company of men?' I asked my class, and we got into a discussion of the oppression of women. On another occasion we were discussing the well. I showed a picture of women collecting water from a well. 'Why are only women collecting water from the well?' I asked, and again we began to talk about the role of women in our society."
> (Urdang, 1979; 311-312).

Such evidence implies at least a residue of the mobilisation campaign. Now that the State has been taken over by the Guineans from the Portuguese, the question is: has the State enlisted adult education for its post-independence policies? That is - and the question may be examined in relation to any country after the mobilisation phase - does adult education, after having been used to change the State, then become a subject for State intervention and support?

4. STATE INTERVENTION IN ADULT EDUCATION

From the issues concerning adult education as a movement/activity against the state (with the aim of changing it), we will now therefore turn to a second set of issues, those concerning the State's own activities in relation to adult education. Three themes may be singled out: policies for adult education; the State as a supporting/facilitating agency for adult education; and the State as a constraining influence over adult education.

First, what about polices? In Britain, policies have been ill-defined and relating only to certain areas of adult education.

Mainly they have emerged ad hoc and in relation to funding of provision. In England and Wales, the grant-in-aid for adult education goes back to 1851, when the first grants were made to evening schools (mainly, in an era before universal primary education, concerned with what we would now define as adult basic education). Codes were laid down in the 1890's and, in the 20th century, grant regulations have been refined and redesigned in ways which have had a notable effect on the shape of adult education work supported with public moneys. The tutorial class movement attracted grant from the Board of Education and in 1913 the Board established regulations which provided the basis in England and Wales for a system of low-cost "liberal" (or issue-based) education which lasted into the 1980's; quality was assured by the participation of the Universities and by the appointment of inspectors. In Scotland, there was some analogy with the English system, but no developed commitment to the financing of liberal education (central government funds being available to help administration of courses, but not for teaching costs) and there were no arrangements for inspection.

On the whole, British governments have shied away from exercising a regulatory function. One example is in the field of correspondence schools. In 1962 a Member of Parliament tried to bring in a Private Member's Bill, requiring the Secretary of State for Education to appoint a Registrar of Correspondence Colleges. He did not succeed and the Government's reaction was to invite the institutions themselves to set up and pay for a regulatory and accrediting body. This came about in 1969, although the Council for the Accreditation of Correspondence Colleges has half its members nominated by Government.

Statements of policy, showing a British government view of the role and function of adult education, have been few. The main attempts at definition of policy have been made, not by governments themselves, but by committees reporting to governments. The landmark committees were the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction (final report 1919), the Ashby Committee on the Organisation and Finance of Adult Education in England and Wales (reported 1953), the Russell Committee of inquiry into adult education in England and Wales (reported 1973) and the Alexander Committee on adult education in Scotland (reported 1975). The main prescriptions of the 1919 report are still not accepted as policy:

> "Adult education must not be regarded as a luxury for a very few exceptional persons - but adult education is a permanent national necessity, an inseparable aspect of citizenship and should therefore be both universal and lifelong -- the opportunity for adult education should be spread evenly and systematically all over the community" (Ministry of Reconstruction, 1919; 5).

The Ashby Committee will be referred to again later. The Russell Report was well received by the press and public, but did not lead to significant Government action. Interestingly, the one report which led to a major government policy shift was that of the Alexander Committee, Adult Education: the Challenge of Change (1975). It put forward for Scotland a concept of "community education as a framework for cooperation between youth work, community development and adult education as committed allies"; and the Scottish Office followed this up by promoting regional community education services on that basis.

The African situation has been different. Governments in Commonwealth Africa have been very ready with statements of policy (though perhaps less ready with their money). In the colonial period, there was a broad pattern of policy laid down by the British Colonial Office. From the 1925 Memorandum on Education Policy in British Tropical Africa (heavily influenced by the American-sponsored Phelps-Stokes reports and the missionary lobby), there followed a series of documents setting out guidelines and plans. The 1925 paper asserted the aims of education to be:

> "to render the individual more efficient in his or her condition of life, whatever it might be, and to promote the advancement of the community as a whole, through the improvement of agriculture, the development of major industries, the improvement of health, the training of the people in the management of

> their own affairs and the inculcation of the true ideals of citizenship and service" (Colonial Office 1925).

A 1935 memorandum stated:

> "The true educational aim is the education, not only of the young, but of the whole community. This involves a clear recognition of the ultimate connection between educational policy and economic policy" (Colonial Office 1935).

The linking of education to development became a key feature of post-independence policies in African countries. Where societies were still in a mobilisation mode, adult education was seen as a key instrument of policy - archetypically in Tanzania. There, President Nyerere asserted, when launching the first 5-year plan in 1964:

> "First we must educate adults. Our children will not have an impact on our economic development for five, ten or even twenty years. The attitudes of the adults --- on the other hand, have an impact now" (Repr. in Nyerere 1968).

At first, the emphasis tended to be on literacy, but in 1967 the ruling party proclaimed the Arusha Declaration, which set Tanzania on a course of self-reliant socialist development, and adult education became central to the achievement of the party's policies. Developments over the subsequent decade, with the application of the Arusha policies, have been traced by Kassam (1978).

The Tanzanian case reminds us that State intervention may be <u>favourable</u> to adult education. The state may be a support and/or a facilitator of programmes. Blyth, in his study of English University adult education (1983) emphasises the point that government funding through the Responsible Body system provided essential strength to liberal adult education. Fieldhouse (1985a) too concedes this point, although he makes the qualification that there was "an accepted ideological boundary which allowed the RBs - to range freely across the broad centre of the British political spectrum, reinforcing a liberal-bourgeois or social-democratic range of values - " He observes, however, that there were opportunities to stray beyond the boundaries and quotes Orwell: The stripe-trousered ones will rule, but so long as they are forced to maintain an intelligentsia, the intelligentsia will have a certain amount of autonomy" (Fieldhouse, 1985a; 129).

The setting of boundaries by the State, whether overtly or by indirection, is one facet of the <u>constraining</u> role which it

may play in adult education. Fieldhouse (1985b) has written a detailed study of the political collisions which occurred in Britain immediately after the Second World War. The liberal tradition was, he shows in a fascinating book, besieged by cold war anti-communism. "There was a real danger that the perceived need to preserve western 'free democratic' society from communism would eliminate the liberal approach - which aimed to give students access to a whole range of arguments and to develop their critical faculties so that they could question all assumptions, formulate alternative interpretations and come to their own conclusions about the important issues of the day" (Fieldhouse, 1985b; 92). He describes a set of pressures on adult educators and adult education agencies which still persist in Britain, as evidenced in a 1976 article by Fordham which analyses 4 levels of decision on which the political context in Britain may impinge on adult education - decisions about staff employed, programme design, students to be attracted and joint action by educator and learners following from a course offered - and also by a 1986 article by Jones on the teaching of controversial issues.

Fieldhouse's book is a micro-study and therefore does not give a sense of the long term trends in negative intervention by the State in Britain. There are clearly ebbs and flows in State action, but the Fordham and Jones articles, one published 25 years after the period of Fieldhouse's study and the other 35 years, suggest that there have been constants over a longish time-span.

The State's and local authorities' power of the purse have had recurrent effects throughout the 20th century. Soon after the period of the Fieldhouse study, there was an alarm by the government over the rapid increase in the grant paid out to Responsible Bodies in England and Wales and first a freeze was imposed (1951-52) and then a 10% reduction was mooted (1952-53). There was a public outcry and the Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, was faced with fierce opposition from the Trades Union Congress. In a famous letter of 11th March 1983, he threw himself behind humane education saying: "The appetite of adults to be shown the foundations and processes of thought will never be denied by a British Administration cherishing the continuity of our Island race". He moved on to a piece of bathos: "But these are no reasons for not looking at the accounts and making sure that all we can give is turned to good advantage". The grant was preserved, but the Ministry of Education attempted to save face by appointing the Ashby Committee to review the financing of adult education. Its work has been characterised as the "first systematic review of adult education since 1919" (Blyth, 1932; 285).

The point here is that the Committee's work led to a loosening of the regulations, allowing more freedom to adult education agencies within the financial framework. Thirty years later, grant regulations were changed again, this time without any consultation or committee of enquiry, and this time imposing constraints, so that the impact appears likely to be a further deflection from the 1919 ideal of open and equal access.

This story of variable State constraint on adult education in Britain may be parallelled by the curious story of University adult education in Uganda in the 1960's, told in detail in a thesis by Yolamu Nsamba (1984). In the early phase of independence, Uganda, as did most African countries, spent heavily on formal education. Politicians suddenly became aware of the emergence from primary school of jobless youngsters anxious to improve their education, but with no chance of getting into the few secondary schools. They saw the University extra-mural department as an alibi for State action. As a condition of the grant given to Makerere for extra-mural work, and with only a slight increase in the amount, Makerere was requested to provide educational programmes for the school leavers throughout the country. There was strong resistance on the part of Makerere extra-mural staff, but within a couple of years, the department (its name changed to Centre for Continuing Education) was providing secondary school type correspondence courses and other programmes to satisfy demand from school 'pushouts'. Needless to say, with tiny resources in funds and staff, it was not able to meet the challenge and with the arrival of Idi Amin as Head of State bringing further constraints, the Makerere CCE went into a period of decline.

In any discussion on the role of the State in adult education, whether normative (through policy declaration), facilitative or constraining, two other issues need to be borne in mind. First, in any but the most repressive State, the political will and public opinion are factors in the effectiveness of State action. The most massively funded literacy campaign, for example, will not succeed if the potential learners are not motivated - or indeed if they are actively resistant. I have not come across any study showing resistance to an adult education policy or programme, but a relevant recent case was described by Omolewa (1985b) - the National Open University experiment in Nigeria. As he drily observes:

> "The national Open University has set a record as Nigeria's University with the shortest lifespan in history. Established by law on 22nd July, 1983, the institution lived only up to May 1984, when the Head of State ordered its suspension."

The suspension was on technical grounds, but Omolewa shows

that there were both political tides against it and media opposition. As he says:

> "Although the new military administration killed the Open University, the Nigerian press prepared its deathbed."

Political will is intangible. A more concrete factor in the effectiveness of State action is the infra-structure for adult education. Supporting institutions include libraries, museums, cultural festivals, cheap means of communication; state provision of, or assistance to, such institutions can have a profound effect on participation in and quality of adult education. In Britain, where in this century we have had a period of relative affluence, we may have become less conscious of this fact, but some of the most important 19th century events, from the point of view of adult education, were arguably the lifting of tax from newspapers, the financing of public libraries and the development of freely accessible museums. In Africa, such infra-structure is critical, since average incomes are low. In some African countries, a political decision to remove import tax from radios has enabled many more citizens to buy them and thus to listen to educational programmes of all kinds. A historical outline of the development in West Africa of some supporting institutions, with the emphasis on libraries and museums, has been given by Omolewa (1979).

5. A MODEL FOR EXAMINATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN ADULT EDUCATION AND THE STATE

In order to pursue this type of study, I would suggest a simple model on which comparisons could be constructed. It is a refinement of a model which I presented at the 1986 Oxford conference on the history of adult education and has been refined as a result of discussions there following my paper.

State Character	Nature of Intervention			Factors in Effectiveness	
	Policies	Supportive Action	Constraining Action	Political Will	Infra structure
1. Laisser-faire					
2. Colonial					
3. Post-Colonial or Post-Imperial					
a. Mobilising					
b. Post-Mobilising					
c. Welfare					
d. Other					

In using such a model, it has to be noted that State action in support of adult education may have negative effects and State action in support of one set of adult education institutions may be to the detriment of others. For example, in Britain it could be argued that the diversion of large-scale funding to one institution, the Open University, over many years, has resulted in the under-development of other learning opportunities for adults.

6. SOME RELATED ISSUES

This paper has concentrated on direct confrontation between adult education and the State and direct intervention by the State in adult education. The comment on infra-structure is a reminder that other issues may need to be taken account of by a historian of adult education interested in the broad theme which I have been discussing. One such issue is that of the political education of adults. In a mobilisation society, such as Tanzania, adult education was seen after independence as having a political purpose and hence political education was part of the curriculum - but it was subject to the boundaries of acceptable dissent just as it was in the post-war Britain described by Fieldhouse (1985b). Neither in Britain nor in any African country has there been direct State aid to the educational agencies of political parties, as happens in West Germany and Scandinavia. It would be interesting to research the history of political education for adults in Britain with a view to assessing whether it has been underdeveloped compared to, say, Sweden; and it would be interesting to discover how far there has been political education at all in, say, Nigeria.

A rather different issue relates to governmental structure. What is the effect of a centralised or decentralised State on adult education? Currently, in Britain, a general centralising and *dirigiste* trend has had considerable effect on the shape of adult education, as Wallis' article, mentioned earlier, indicates. For Nigeria, Omolewa (1980b) has looked broadly at centralised and decentralised administration in Nigeria as determinants of educational policy (including adult education) and concluded that there it made very little difference.

7. CONCLUSION

Adult Education has often been seen as marginal, both in public policy and in scholarship relating to education. In terms of public policy, if we are to move from marginally, we

have to confront the problem of its relations with the State. The problem lends itself to comparative treatment, taking cases from differing political environments; and for those of us in Britain there is certainly merit in looking at what has happened in some African countries, where the State's impact has been more direct and where on occasion there has evolved some theory on the roles of State and adult education in relation to each other. In terms of scholarship, I hope that this conference will mark a significant step forward in the convergence of academic interests among comparativists, to embrace the whole field of activities related to lifelong learning.

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